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Research into teacher nonverbal behavior is needed. Although teachers are usually aware of their verbal behavior, they may be unaware of many nonverbal cues they express through gesture, facial expression, posture, vocal tone, or similar mechanisms. Such nonverbal expressions convey attitudes and impressions which may affect the teaching-learning process and may be of particular importance in the acculturation of minority group children. A model of communication consists of (1) a sender, (2) a message, (3) a channel, and (4) a receiver. A model of a teacher's nonverbal communication behavior ranges from encouraging to restricting and can be schematized according to six pairs of antithetical characteristics: (1) congruous-incongruous, (2) responsive-unresponsive, (3) positively affective-negatively affective, (4) attentive-inattentive, (5) facilitative-unreceptive, and (6) supportive-disapproving. The effects of nonverbal communication may be brought about through such events as use of space, teacher travel, use of time, and control maneuvers. Unlike verbal communication, nonverbal communication does not easily provide feedback. Consequently, greater awareness of nonverbal communication plus greater awareness of student behavior is necessary on the part of the teacher. In training teachers, feedback on nonverbal behavior may be provided through awareness of student reaction and response, observational data, or video tape analysis. (SG)

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NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION: A NEEDED FOCUS

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The status of research in teacher nonverbal behavior remains an unfulfilled and incomplete area of investigation. This lack is especially prominent with respect to the mechanisms of nonverbal behavior and to their effects in classroom instruction and learning. For indeed, there is a present tendency on the part of some researchers to minimize the importance of nonverbal cues. Interaction can be viewed as an exclusive process of verbal influence, if the researcher chooses to make the convenient assumption that a sampling of teacher verbal behavior is an adequate sampling of total behavior. Accordingly, research efforts have either centered on the verbal acts of teaching or the influence of teacher verbal behavior while the nonverbal dimensions of teaching have been assumed to be negligible or insignificant. A similar view is often held by teachers who rely upon words and verbalisms to convey meaning during instruction, and who believe that teaching is telling.

Many teachers readily accept the notion that to be instructive is to be verbal. To choose to be a teacher is to prefer a verbal world. The very idea of teaching others is to be literate and to place a premium on written and spoken words. Classroom learning is heavily loaded with student and teacher usage of words, and educators view words as the very miracles of learning. How often have teachers resorted to these utterances: "How many times will I have to explain this?" "Haven't I explained that a hundred times already?" "Were you listening when I told you that?"

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"Alright, everybody pay attention--I am only going to say this one more time." Although these statements do not characterize teaching, they do portray a reliance on the power of words.

Relevance of Nonverbal Cues

While words and verbalisms may be the preferred symbols of schooling, they do not represent the only means of knowing. Nonverbal cues and clues represent elegant signs for conveying and receiving information, for actions do speak as loud as words--perhaps, louder. To recognize that how we say something is as important as what we say can be verbally acknowledged, but not necessarily understood in behavioral terms. Providing information through nonverbal action can be process to which little conscious thought is given, and more importantly, we are usually unaware of our own awareness. Many ways to give-off nonverbal cues can be expressed: facial expressions, movements, postures, mannerisms, vocal tones, gestures, energy changes, etc..

On the other hand, the availability of nonverbal cues for an observer to witness may be calculatingly managed to achieve a desired effect. We can color the perceptions of others by adroitly managing nonverbal expressions to convince others how we wish to be viewed. Nonverbal expressions can be deliberately used to effect an impression or to convey an attitude. The females of our culture have long since learned the significance of exchanging mutual glances with males. This is perhaps the most efficient and quickest way for two parties to convey immediate attraction for each other. However, you do not engage in a warm mutual glance with another if you are disinterested. Females understand the consequences of mutual

glances so well that they are capable of looking around, through, and by a male to avoid his gaze and to avoid attention.

We engineer expressions to convince others, and we can be taken in by our own performance. Such is the case when we take a driver's test to obtain a license, go to church, or listen to an instructor in a classroom. We may begin by deliberately engineering our nonverbal cues to convince an observer of the realness of our participation, but there is a very good chance that we too begin to believe that our performance is authentic.

The process of immediately understanding another and having the other understand us is commonly referred to as empathy. In fact, most of us believe that the most personal and valid kinds of information can be discovered this way. But, we rarely attribute our response to nonverbal cues. By reacting to the nonverbal cues of others, we pick up information which we use in deciding what to do next and in determining what our role needs to be. All of this activity seems so natural and spontaneous to us that we overlook the fact that we influence and are influenced by others through nonverbal cueing.

Teachers constantly check on the fidelity of student verbal remarks by reading their nonverbal cues. It is much more "fun" to think that enlightenment is one way--that teachers are free to observe and read the behaviors of students with an open license. But the challenging dilemna which poses itself for teachers is that teachers convey information to students through nonverbal behavior.

Anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists have gone beyond the obvious explanations of the explicit culture, expected role perfor-

mances, and nomthetic behaviors to explain the meaning of human activity. A graphic illustration of this point can be delineated by the following model:

Anthropologist	Sociologist	Psychologist
Cultural Behaviors	Role Behaviors	Personal Behaviors
Acculturation	Interaction	Personality
Implicit Meaning	Empathic Meaning	Inferred Meaning

A cultural view of the teacher's nonverbal influence in the classroom is implicit in the research efforts of many anthropologists. Contemporary anthropologists agree that an ability to determine an individual's feeling state by looking at facial expressions, observing gestures, or listening to the sound of a voice is a learned ability. In fact it is accepted that any such ability is not inherited or innate. Indeed the evidence suggests that nonverbal languages of behavior vary according to different cultures and subcultures, and that nonverbal cues are relevant to the acculturation process.

A sociological view of nonverbal communication is related to an analysis of role behaviors and performances. Terms such as expressive equipment, model behaviors, attitude formation, and empathic understanding can be associated with the sociologist's concern with the significance of nonverbal communication. In order to play a role it is important to communicate the appropriate nonverbal signals and cues that are consonant with its performance.

A psychological view of a teacher's nonverbal influence is obviously connected to the emotional and affective content of interaction. That is, expressive acts suggest a promissory character of the teacher's selfhood. Expressive behaviors function in teaching because nonverbal signs are

assumed by pupils to represent the psychological state of the teacher. Especially relevant to the psychological dimension is that by interpreting and inferring from nonverbal expressions, pupils obtain the full import of a teacher's perceptions, motivations, and feelings.

These different views can be used in combination or assumed separately. It is useful to see behavior as a cultural, social, or psychological phenomenon. As a cultural phenomenon the behavior of a teacher or students arises from sub-cultural experiences that have been learned over time. Similar behaviors can mean different things. A pat on the back to one child may imply friendliness and support, whereas to another child the exact behavior may be interpreted as an aggressive and threatening gesture. To some children, a close proximity by the teacher can stifle and embarrass. Conversely, other children prefer the close warmth of teacher-pupil contacts. A broad cultural understanding is that we do not stand too close while talking. When the appropriate distance is broken, talking ceases. Note the absence of talk when people enter and ride an elevator, and its resumption after passing through the doors. The sub-cultural expressions among racial, ethnic, and social classes can differ markedly, as well as the behaviors of the suburban, rural, inner-city, and Appalachian child.

When we consider the school roles that children are required to portray, behaviors can be viewed as social performances. Young children are generally not sophisticated performers of expressive behavior. The adults of our society are far more practiced at managing their nonverbal cues to achieve a desired effect. The act of meeting expectations appears to be a developmental ability and a learned process, and this is why the behaviors of young children appear so unaffected and natural. Much of

their behavior is spontaneous and unrehearsed. It has been suggested that the activities of pretending to listen in class, appearing busy during seatwork assignments, and putting on a front of seeming interested, are all games that children learn to play. The point is that there are perhaps many such games that children learn to play in school, and the longer they go to school the better their skills develop. It may be a sad commentary on life that people play games or that students need to learn behavioral skills to fulfill the requirements of schooling, but the point for our discussion is that when such performances take place they are largely achieved nonverbally.

For example, consider an inner-city child who is incapable of meeting the behavioral expectations of the teacher, who neither understands the rules of the schooling game nor is able to control his behavior satisfactorily. Indeed many teachers do not facilitate his fumbling efforts; they catch him in the act and remind him of his ineptness. To enter the sub-cultural environment of the school is to be at once confronted with a language system that is peculiar to the middle-class. Youngsters from a different cultural setting must learn not only an elaborate verbal language unique to the school, but a nonverbal language also. Children learn to play roles in school and their ability to do so often determines how they are treated by school officials. For instance, bright middle-class children see the teacher as fair game to be manipulated by their displays of interest and complicity.

A psychological way of viewing nonverbal cues occurs because both teachers and students take the expressive state of the person as symptomatic of inner feelings and attitudes. These cues are not taken

at face value, but inferences are made from them to determine what to believe. Sometimes students will respond to a precise expression and know that a teacher is angry and hostile or sad and depressed. Teachers often read the facial expressions of a student to discover whether he is elated or unhappy.

In a psychological sense, teacher-pupil contacts are distinguished by spontaneity and immediate response. Therefore, nonverbal reactions are especially prominent for the formation of attitudes since they stem from unwitting responses. Not only are teachers unaware of their own behavior, they unwittingly reveal feelings to students that are not in their own best interests. Teachers must be on the alert to discover these possibilities after they occur, for the probability of preventing their occurrence is quite difficult. To increase an awareness of the psychological consequences of what is ordinarily out-of-awareness is a step in the right direction. Attitudinal displays and emotional reactions are not peculiar to classrooms, but the need to be open to the meaning of their appearance is greater than imagined.

The acts of a teacher suggest a reflection of the teacher's self. By interpreting and inferring from nonverbal cues, pupils attempt to obtain a fuller understanding of the teacher. Since pupils assume that these cues are more consonant with the actual feelings and thoughts of a teacher, pupils who detect contradictions between verbal and nonverbal behavior will accept the nonverbal as more valid. Therefore, what a teacher says makes little difference if there is a failure to understand what kind of self is being projected nonverbally. For those of us who have students, there is no greater appreciation of a teacher than

when we realize a congruency exists between his verbal and nonverbal behavior. This obtains whether we have been elementary, high school, or college students. When there is an incongruency between the verbal and nonverbal, students are troubled by the dilemma, and they see through to the teacher's real self.

Model of Nonverbal Communication

Communication theorists vary considerably in their view of human interaction, and models of the process can be needlessly abstract. Explanations range from the Shannon-Weaver model, which describes electronic communication, to the Ruesch-Bateson description which includes anything to which persons can assign meaning. However, the four major ingredients that researchers agree are common to human communication are: (1) sender, (2) message, (3) channel and (4) receiver.

A sender of communication has ideas, interest, information, needs, and sentiments which he attempts to encode in the form of messages. Given a sender who sends messages, a channel is necessary. The channel is the carrier of messages, the medium, or the vehicular means for transmitting messages. The communication channels are the verbal and nonverbal skills possessed by the sender and the sensory skills possessed by the receiver. Once the message is decoded by the receiver, it has reached a destination which can be considered the response, interpretation, or meaning the receiver assigns to the message. If the receiver answers, the communication cycle begins anew.

A requirement of communication in the classroom is that the symbols a teacher chooses from his repetoire must satisfy his own peculiar requirements and meaning, and must evoke a similar meaning in the pupil.

Communication is successful when the teacher and pupil agree on the interpretation that should be put on the message. Perfect communication is rarely achieved, however, because words are at best mediating symbols between the expressed intent of an inner-state of being and the achieved affect they elicit.

The teacher's nonverbal behavior constitutes a model which ranges from encouraging to restricting communication. Viewing a teacher's nonverbal communication as an encouraging to restricting continuum has the advantage of being related to the communication process and of being indicative of subsequent interpersonal relationships between a teacher and pupils. The model is also useful in regarding the potential influence and consequence of a teacher's nonverbal behavior with pupils. This conceptualization reflects a process point of view: an action system of nonverbal behaviors that exist in dynamic relationship to the continuing influence of the teacher and pupil in interaction with each other.

The model represents six dimensions of nonverbal activity. Nonverbal communication that is encouraging has these six characteristics: (1) congruity between verbal intent and nonverbal referents, (2) responsive to feedback, (3) positive affectivity, (4) attentive and listens to others, (5) facilitative by being receptive to others and (6) supportive of pupils or pupil behavior. Nonverbal communication that is restricting has these six characteristics: (1) discrepancy between verbal intent and nonverbal referents, (2) unresponsive to feedback, (3) negative affectivity, (4) inattentive to others, (5) unreceptive to others and (6) disapproving of pupil behavior.

The model can be schematized as follows -- the left side of the

model is communication that is teacher initiated and the right side is viewed as teacher response.

TEACHER COMMUNICATION

Encouraging - Restricting

Congruity - Incongruity
Responsive - Unresponsive
Positive - Negative Affectivity
Attentive - Inattentive
Facilitating - Unreceptive
Supportive - Disapproval

Congrous - Incongrous --- This dimension refers to the congruity or incongruity that exists between the voice, gesture, and actions of the teacher and the verbal content communicated by the teacher. Congruity occurs when the teachers verbal message is supported and reinforced by nonverbal behaviors to the extent that there is consonance between the verbal intent and nonverbal referents. A mixed message or incongruity exists when there is a discrepancy or contradiction between the verbal message and nonverbal information.

Responsiveness - Unresponsiveness --- A responsive act relates to modifications in the teacher's behavior as a result of feedback. Verbal feedback occurs when the teacher hears himself talking, but nonverbal feedback is based on the reactions and responses of pupils to the teacher. A responsive act occurs when the teacher alters the pace or direction of a lesson as a result of a detection of misunderstanding or feelings by pupils. Operating on the basis of pupil behavior the teacher uses feedback data to "feedforward" with changed information. Unresponsive acts are an ignoring or insensitivity to the behavioral responses of pupils.

Positive - Negative Affectivity --- Positive nonverbal expressions convey warm feelings; high regard; cheerful enthusiasm; displays of liking and acceptance. Negative nonverbal expressions convey aloofness, coldness, low regard, indifference, or display of rejection.

Attentive - Inattentive --- Nonverbal expressions that imply a willingness to listen with patience and interest to pupil talk. By paying attention, the teacher exhibits an interest in pupil. By being inattentive or disinterested, the teacher inhibits the flow of communication from pupils, and neither sustains nor encourages sharing information or expressing ideas.

Facilitating - Unreceptive --- The teacher is facilitating when acting to perform a function which helps a pupil, usually in response to a detection of pupil needs, urgencies, or problems. This may be in response to a pupil request or a nurturant act. An unreceptive act openly ignores a pupil when a response would ordinarily be expected; may ignore a question or request; or may be tangential response.

Supportive - Disapproving --- Expressions that imply supportive pupil behavior or pupil interactions; manifest approval; being strongly pleased; exhibits encouragement; connotes enjoyment or praise. Disapproving expressions convey dissatisfaction, discouragement, disparagement, or punishment. The expression may be one of frowning, scowling, or threatening glances.

Nonverbal Events

Throughout a teaching day, there are many occurrences that can be properly classified as nonverbal events. Their impact on the course and direction of classroom activity shapes the contextual meaning that

is derived from a situation. Not only do these events minimize verbal messages but they become the very focus of attention and the idea that lingers long after the event has passed. Why this should be so is most difficult to answer, but the character and influence of these events speak for themselves.

Use of Space -- Classrooms are usually divided into territories where a teacher and students occupy space. Some arrangements of territorial rights are traditional with the teacher's desk at the front of the room and students seated in rows. Other arrangements of desks and furniture are more imaginative. Some uses of space are fluid, others are static. A change in a spatial arrangement influences the potential meaning of a learning context.

Teacher Travel -- Where and when a teacher chooses to travel in a classroom signifies meaning. In the past, teachers moved around their desk as if it were an isle of security. They rarely ventured into the territories of student residence, unless they wished to check or monitor seatwork. To move forward or away from students signifies relationships.

Use of Time -- How teachers use their time indicates the value and importance they place on something. Indeed spending little time on a topic or passing by it can indicate no interest or knowledge about the topic. Teachers do not ordinarily recognize the meanings of their use of time. For instance, students can frequently relate what a teacher's preferences are and what the teacher dislikes.

Control Maneuvers -- Teachers engage in various nonverbal tactics to control the behavior of students. These silent expressions serve as

singular events to remind students of teacher expectations. A few examples should suffice to capture the essence of these nonverbal maneuvers by teachers: indicates inability to hear due to classroom noise; places finger to lips; stands with hands on hips and stares in silence; scans room to see who is not working; records in grade book while student reports; raises brow or uses eyes to gain attention.

Need for Feedback

Because we can hear ourselves when we talk, adjustments can be made in the intent of our verbal speech. Something can be uttered verbally and if it does not sound appropriate, information can be restated verbally. In a word, we can correct our messages to others. Oral communication permits this marvelous facility for receiving instanteous feedback in relation to what is said. In fact, teachers have often suggested that they were not precisely sure of what they thought until they heard themselves speak. In verbal communication, our very words become data not only for others but for ourselves. We can capitalize on our verbal utterances as sort of a feedback-loop to determine if our words meet our test of intent and meaning.

Feedback data from our expression of nonverbal cues are not so easily available, however, and the process is different. We cannot see ourselves when we behave. If we lived in a "world of mirrors," perhaps nonverbal cues could be as easily manipulated as verbal behavior. But, this is not the case--we have to rely on the reactions and responses of others in order to comprehend our nonverbal effect in the situation. In the classroom, unless the teacher is willing to be filmed for play back later or is willing to be observed, attending to the responses of

students is the major source of information. Teachers seem to differ markedly in their ability to be sensitive to the behavior of youngsters toward them, and to use it as feedback data.

Nonverbal cues can be either spontaneous or managed and each of these conditions influences perceptions. While it is often difficult to detect the difference between the two kinds of cue-giving, nonverbal information facilitates any effort to understand others and to be understood. Whether a teacher deliberately chooses to react to the nonverbal cues of students or whether they unconsciously do so, the crucial conclusion is that expressive cues influence a teacher's view of students and their view of the teacher.

The prospect of training teachers to become more knowledgeable of nonverbal cues is in the process of greater development. For the present, it must be stressed that a greater openness to the occurrence of nonverbal events and expressions, plus a greater awareness of student behavior is the major key. The feedback loop for the nonverbal is necessarily contingent on the reflective mirror of student reaction and response, observational data, or video-tape analysis.

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